

24/10/2019

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY 25X1 REPORT

INFORMATION REPORT

CD NO.

COUNTRY China

DATE DISTR. 26 Sept. 1951

SUBJECT Restrictions on Personal Freedom in Communist
China 25X1

NO. OF PAGES 5

PLACE
ACQUIRED

NO. OF ENCLS.
(LISTED BELOW)

DATE OF
INFO.

SUPPLEMENT TO
REPORT NO. 25X1

REFERENCE COPY

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1. After two years of Communist rule in China, one of the principal changes is that following the high tide of the "anti-America and aid for Korea" movement at the beginning of this year, everybody seems to find themselves suddenly under the all-pervading watchful eye of the government. People hardly dare to breathe a dissenting note, and look fearfully into every doubtful point in their own past records lest they be called to account and liquidated. The majority of the nation is suddenly gripped by fear, as compared to the relatively tranquil state before the end of 1950.
2. Representing the watching eye of the government is a complicated system of surveillance and control. This system is a complex subject, and the following is but a very unsystematic reflection of it.
3. To exercise surveillance and control over China's vast population, the Communists do not utilize the indigenous kinship organizations, the vital center of traditional Chinese social structure. Instead, they rely upon a new set of organizations. The system of kinship organizations has been singled out for speedy destruction, which is being effectively carried out.
4. In the cities, occupational and professional groups have become an important tool of control over the attitudes and conduct of the people. Labor unions, businessmen's associations, clubs in each occupation or professions, teachers' associations, and student bodies in schools, discussion and indoctrination units in government offices, and a multitude of other organizations have sprung up in various occupational and professional fields under the auspices or encouragement of the government. Above all, the government itself, with its ramification of expanding organizations, directly exercises control over an increasing number of persons under its employment.
5. Many of these occupational and professional organizations were newly set up by the Communists, but most of them existed before the Communist ascendance to power. In order to utilize the old organizations, the Communists have pretty thoroughly changed their leadership by putting Communist appointees in the saddle. The new leadership consists of "democratic personages" in the

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most cases, with a sprinkling of Party members watching them from positions in the general membership or minor posts in the organizations. One may say that, after 2 years of Communist rule, there is hardly a single occupational or professional organization that has not come under the Communist grip that can still continue to exist and carry on activities.

6. The drive for new leadership in old organizations has been an event of major importance. It came easily in many cases. The businessmen's groups, quickly frightened and demoralized, surrendered without a fight, and the new leaders took their positions with ease. Educational and technical groups were similarly willing to surrender to Communist leadership. In the case of some other groups such as certain labor organizations, for example, the dock workers' associations, it took a lot of hard struggle to drive a wedge into the old organization and to establish the new leadership. Persecution was often necessary, as is shown by the case of the recent execution of Li Teh-hsien (李德軒), a long-time leader of the Canton machine workers union, on the ground that he attempted to maintain the influence of the old leadership. Several old leaders of the dock workers organizations in Canton were shot for the same reason, though ostensibly all those executed were branded traitors to labor.
7. With the leadership of organizations in hand, the attitudes and conduct of the membership can be closely watched and reported. Since occupational and professional organizations concern one's livelihood, one's connection with such organizations is bound to be close and intimate, especially when the scheme of the Communists includes making the occupational and professional organizations a basic factor in the new social structure. In numerous ways, one has to go through the occupational or professional organizations to secure one's own proper status and to make adjustments on many problems in connection with one's job or with the government. The traditional indifference towards organizations among the Chinese no longer applies to the present situation, for the organization constantly scrutinizes one's personal record and helps to determine one's position and personal security.
8. For educational workers who work and live closely together as a group, the supervision and control over the individual by occupational and professional organizations is so close and intimate that one feels he is being watched every moment, even in his own private home. If one loudly criticizes the government, even in his own sitting room, his own servant, his colleagues, or his students may pass by and overhear what he says. In fact, with the rapid indoctrination of the young, one is afraid of talking frankly in front of one's own children, who in general are already accusing the parents of being too conservative or reactionary. Colleagues know of each other's attitudes and activities and especially so within one's own department, and such knowledge will be passed on to the leaders of the professional organization such as the association of teachers or professors, which in turn will inform the party branches or the police. Colleagues or co-workers who used to talk to each other freely and frankly on everything including political matters meet each other now mostly in silence or talking about the weather. Every Chinese now suspects every other Chinese in his group and is time and again encouraged to do so. In women's auxiliary of a professor's organization in a university, meetings before the summer of 1950 used to be alive with interesting conversation, but now people sit in uneasy silence even though they continue to attend the meetings, attendance being expected if not legally required of everybody, whereas it used to be entirely optional. But, the greatest danger lies in one's public utterances on social and political matters in classes or meetings, where doubtful statements may be picked up by students or colleagues.
9. Those who work in government organizations, armed forces, or institutions affiliated with the government are subjected to direct control and surveillance by the government. All such individuals are required to hand in autobiographies, which are scrutinized and double checked by the Party and various government agencies. An individual is asked to hand in his autobiography not just once, but a number of times on various occasions, thus creating the danger of handing in autobiographies that may differ in some respects or details. Whether such differences are attributable to faulty

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memory or intentional concealment of certain events in one's past record the writer will at once be called in for extended questioning. Though only a small percentage of individuals have actually gone through the process of being questioned, it is the fear of being questioned about one's past record that makes everybody toe the line in order to keep out of trouble.

10. Autobiographies have thus far been the chief source of information for the police files. The number of people thus recorded is fairly large. In the summer of 1950 when the government services took the whole crop of graduates from higher educational institutions, the vast majority of these graduates handed in their personal records, except those who succeeded in dodging the government assignments. When the government subsidizes or takes over the supervision of a private institution such as a school or hospital, every one employed in that institution has to hand in a personal record. Already, the civil government and the armed services together probably have a personnel in excess of 16,000,000 people, over whom the government exercises direct control and supervision by possessing their personal records and by the exercising of discipline. This number is expanding rapidly by the extension of the government into the field of economics through establishment of industrial and trading organizations, and the absorption of private business organizations and educational institutions. While most business firms will remain in private hands for some time to come, private educational institutions of all levels will have a very short lease of life. Most of the private schools, especially colleges, are at least receiving government subsidies, and it will be a matter of a comparatively short time before they pass completely into the hands of the government, which will lay its grip on the administrative and teaching personnel.
11. For the part of city population who are as yet unaffiliated or very loosely affiliated with well organized occupational or professional groups, other general organizations such as the "neighborhood associations" (街坊會) take up the slack. Neighborhood associations are now established in every city all over the country. A neighborhood association is comprised of residents in the same neighborhood, mainly on the same street, hence the Chinese name, "street association." It has a small committee with a chairman and a vice chairman. Somewhat like the old "pao chia" system, it performs a policing function through collective responsibility. Through this organization, persons of doubtful or special background are brought to the attention of the authorities, for each of these associations is under the direct control of the precinct office of the municipal government. In one neighborhood in Canton, two persons came to the attention of the government only because they were the only ones with a high school education in the whole neighborhood, a fact that would have been entirely ignored by any previous government. Aside from the function of collective responsibility, the neighborhood association holds frequent meetings for propaganda and indoctrination, for collective action such as participation in political demonstrations, bond drives, and helping to organize civilian defense units. In some cities such as Shanghai there is a city-wide council to which each neighborhood association sends delegates to exchange experiences and to discuss policies. Thus, the neighborhood residents are kept fairly busy, and, through collective activities, they come under the influence and control of the government.
12. Another general organization that draws in people, especially those who are unaffiliated with occupational or professional bodies, is the women's organization, which is growing fairly rapidly in the cities under the Communist regime. A noticeable beginning has been made in getting the traditionally secluded women out of their homes and into meetings, discussions, "study" groups (in fact, indoctrination classes) and many other forms of collective activities. For the members of the women's organization, the impact of political propaganda makes them conscious of a new standard of social and political values and binds them to it in increasing degrees. Here, not only do the conduct and attitudes of the members come under the control and supervision of the organizations, but the members also serve as supervisors of other

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women outside of the organization by spying and reporting on them. The nucleus of the women's organizations is the National Democratic Women's League.

13. Of course, the over-all center of control and surveillance over the individual citizens is the new police. Besides the usual policing and spying functions, the city bureau of public security also has the charge of taking the census. The census includes information on the individual's occupation, education, and organization affiliations, and other sources of income than occupational earnings. Census takers ask the same question again and again with an intention to catch discrepancies in the answers. This practice immediately instills fear and panic most people. A constant and strict checking is maintained on the information regarding the occupation, sources of income and personal movement of individuals under suspicion. Because of the police function of the census, population records are regarded as confidential information for the security of the state.
14. Undoubtedly the system of new organizations and organizations altered to meet Communist requirements are leading factors in the general control and surveillance of individuals. The isolated individualism of the urban Chinese is being rapidly pulled down and the importance of the traditional kinship ties is being replaced by the new organizational structures that restricts the individual with new bonds vital to his economic and political security. Organizational affiliations and meeting attendance is more and more required of the individual, how ever disagreeable this may be to the traditional habit of the kinship-bound Chinese. In fact, meeting attendance and group activities take up so much of one's time and energy that one hears complaints about it from individual conversations almost everywhere in the country. Even housewives, especially those whose husbands or themselves belong to organized groups, have to attend meetings at least two or three times a week, and sometimes two or three times a day, however occupied with household duties they may be. But, in spite of the complaints and reluctance on the part of the individuals, the general drive is so strong that the membership of the new organizations is expanding rapidly. They have already effected a major change in the structural framework of Chinese society in a mere 2 years of Communist rule.
15. It is a question as to how large a proportion of the urban population is now affected by the control and influence of the government through the new system or organizations. We know that those belonging to occupational or professional organizations are among the most affected, especially the government employees, who now cover an unprecedentedly wide field, the intellectuals in educational institutions, and industrial workers (who have always been better organized than other sectors of the urban population even in the pre-Communist days). These three groups alone may number in excess of 25,000,000. One can estimate the percentage if one has in hand the membership data of occupational and professional organizations, which appear unsystematically from time to time in various handbooks and newspapers in Communist China.
16. As evidence of the discarding and disintegration of kinship ties, the king pin of the traditional Chinese social structure, there have been significant items in Chinese newspapers over the past six months reporting kinsmen turning on each other. There are true cases of fathers accusing sons, daughters accusing their own mothers and wives accusing the husbands, all on political crimes which frequently produced the death punishment for the accused. Similar incidents between less immediate relatives are numerous. Such incidents very rarely if ever happened in pre-Communist China. While such things are not common even now, they nevertheless stand as symptoms of the breakdown of the age-old family institution upon which the characteristics of the Chinese culture were once built. Perhaps more important, though less dramatic, is the rapidly widening gap in attitudes and the sense of values between the older generation and the young. While this ideological discrepancy between the generations has been a steady trend in the past half century

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the process is now vastly accelerated. In the pre-Communist days, such discrepancies only caused family disharmonies and a slow erosion of the foundation of the familial institution. But, now, it not only accelerates the disintegration of the traditional family, but actually brings about mutual distrust and suspicion among even the most immediate relatives, and at times even threatens the life and security of the older generation. In a notable recent case in Kwangtung province, a Party member was threatened with punishment and ran into hiding because he, as a judge in a local court, refused to personally sentence to death his own father, a landlord, and asked permission to surrender his position to another judge to mete out the sentence. This is significant, because, like many other aspects of the Communist movement, the disintegration of the traditional familial system is not left to the slow process of social change, but rather, it is being effected by political pressure or even coercion in certain cases by Party members or people more intimately affiliated with the Communist movement. The kinship group is being turned into an agent of control and supervision of the older generation by the government through the plastic minds of the young.

17. The above is confined mainly to the urban areas. In the rural districts, the government control and surveillance over individuals is much more effective and the organizational set-up is much simpler. Here, China's rural population is concentrated in compact villages in which the kinship organization is strong. All residents in a village have known each other intimately for generations, and there can hardly be any hidden information on the personal records of the individual. All the Communists need to do is fan up the landless and poor peasants to take over the control of the kinship organization and associated bodies such as the militia corps by disposing of the landlord and gentry class, which had hitherto been in control. The movement of every individual comes under strict control, and the earth-bound peasantry are driven to follow the Communist path. The fact that a drastic change such as the present land reform program can be pushed through with only a few months of preparation in some newly liberated territories without general effective resistance is attributable in a large sense to the ease with which rural conduct and attitudes can be brought under control and surveillance. Within two years, Communist power has already gotten down to the grass roots of rural power over the broad landscape of agricultural China, mainly through the speed with which the peasants' associations and the village cadres seize the relatively simple power machinery of the villages.
18. The above reflections deal with the organizational aspect of control and surveillance of Chinese population. The elements of fear works through the entire new system. Nevertheless, one must recognize that control over a huge population such as China's has to rely upon the establishment of a new system of social and political values which drive people into voluntary observation of the new line.

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